

**Institute for Communication, Journalism  
and Computer Science,  
University of Roskilde**

**Media and Communication in Conflict  
Prevention and Peace-Building**  
*Exploring strategies for International and UN-led  
Conflict Transformation*

**Bent Nørby Bonde**

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## **Abstract**

The dissertation provides an integrated model for the analysis and design of media interventions in peace-building, conflict transformation and prevention. It offers a model to adapt media interventions to the phases of conflict and another for using content and various genres to move from conflict through reconciliation to conflict transformation. It identifies different areas of intervention as part of international efforts to prevent conflicts and build peace, such as content, media structure, capacity-building and ethics of journalism. The UN Secretariat but also national donors, governments, and international non-governmental organisations are analysed to identify their capacity to use media and communication to support peace. The dissertation shows how media and communication strategies must be based on thorough analysis to target both root and dynamic causes of conflict, and encompass short- and long-term perspectives. Methodologically, the functional approach of this dissertation combines the practical management of conflict with the theoretical understanding of the phenomena of conflict, media and psychological perceptions within the population, combining dynamic and structural conflict prevention.

Chapter 2 draws on conflict resolution, communication and social psychological research to develop a theoretical framework for understanding media and communication as part of peace-building efforts. Chapter 3 analyses the Yugoslav conflict and the Rwandan genocide and shows how public and private media played significant roles in inciting hatred and creating moral panic.

Chapter 4 identifies the possible areas of intervention as media structure, legislation, content, journalists' capacity and ethical standards; the chapter further identifies the possible phases for

media intervention as ranging from the distant pre-conflict to the post-conflict transformation of society, as well as different media defined according to their de-escalating values of diversity and impartiality. Chapter 5 develops a model for supporting and designing media content, which is tested through focus group interviews across the countries of former Yugoslavia; the chapter further discusses the role of journalists in conflict reporting. Chapter 6 identifies the fields of structural media intervention, relates them to types of conflicts and prioritises the post-conflict targets as the regulation of content, licensing mechanisms and public service broadcasting. Chapter 7 analyses the UN as a key actor for using media in conflict prevention and peace-building. The chapter concludes that in order to react rapidly with a long-term strategy, the organisation should involve other UN organisations, international donors and media NGOs.

The author argues that the strategies developed for internal conflicts are useful in designing answers also to international conflicts, the fostering of terrorists and use of media and communication in social change.

## **Resume**

(Danish)

Afhandlingen giver en integreret model til at analysere og designe medieinterventioner i fredsskabelse, konflikttransformering og forebyggelse, baseret på psykosociale, konflikt-, kommunikations- og medieteorier. Den tilbyder en model, der tilpasser medieinterventioner til konfliktens faser og en anden til at bruge indhold og forskellige journalistiske genrer i processen fra konflikt, gennem forsoning og til konflikttransformering. Afhandlingen identificerer forskellige områder for intervention som led i internationale bestræbelser på at forebygge konflikter og bygge fred – såsom indhold, mediestructur, kapacitetsopbygning og etik i journalistik. FN, men også nationale donorer, regeringer, og internationale NGO'er, bliver analyseret for at identificere deres kapacitet til at bruge medier og kommunikation til at støtte fred. Afhandlingen viser, hvordan medie- og kommunikationsstrategier må basere sig på grundige analyser for at ramme både grundlæggende og dynamiske årsager til konflikt, såvel som kort- og langtrækkende perspektiver. Metodisk kombinerer den funktionelle tilgang i denne afhandling den praktiske konfliktstyring med en teoretisk forståelse af fænomenet konflikt, medier og psykosocial perception i befolkningen, ligesom den retter sig både mod dynamisk og strukturel konfliktforebyggelse.

Kapitel 2 trækker på konfliktløsnings-, kommunikations- og socialpsykologisk forskning for at udvikle en teoretisk ramme for forståelsen af medier og kommunikation som led i bestræbelser på at opbygge fred. Kapitel 3 analyserer den Jugoslaviske konflikt og folkemordet i Rwanda og viser hvordan offentlige og private medier spillede væsentlige roller i at opbygge had og skabe moralsk panik. Kapitel 4 identificerer de mulige interventionsfelter som mediestructur, lovgivning, indhold, journalistisk kapacitet og etiske

standarder. Kapitlet identificerer endvidere de mulige faser for medieintervention fra den fjerne prækonflikt til transformeringen af samfundet post-konflikt, ligesom forskellige medier defineres i forhold til deres deeskalerende værdier som diversitet og upartiskhed. Kapitel 5 udvikler en model til at støtte og udvikle medieindhold. Modellen er testet gennem fokusgruppeinterviews på tværs af landene i det tidligere Jugoslavien. Kapitlet diskuterer endvidere journalisters rolle i konfliktrapportering. Kapitel 6 identificerer strukturelle interventionsfelter og relaterer dem til forskellige konflikttyper, ligesom det post-konflikt prioriterer indsatserne som regulering for indhold, udstedelse af licenser og public service medier. Kapitel 7 analyserer FN som en nøgleaktør for brugen af medier i konfliktforebyggelse og fredsopbygning. Kapitlet konkluderer, at for at kunne handle hurtigt med en langsigtet strategi bør organisationen involvere andre FN-organisationer, internationale donorer og medie-NGO'er.

De strategier, der er udviklet til interne konflikter, vurderer forfatteren også vil kunne anvendes til at udforme svar på internationale konflikter, tilgangen af terrorister og brugen af medier og kommunikation som led i social forandring.

## **8. Conclusions**

### **8.1 Introduction**

I embarked on this dissertation with the ambition to analyse the extent to which multilateral and international media support can prevent conflicts, and in which phase(s) of a conflict, under what specific circumstances and by what means it can contribute to sustainable peace.

To discern the answers, it has been necessary to draw on theories and models, which can be used to comprehend conflicts, the dynamics of conflicts and approaches to peace-building and conflict prevention. I have investigated the social-psychological factors, which influence individuals during conflict and affect the appropriation of media messages. Furthermore, it was also important to draw from communication and media theories in order to develop appropriate strategies.

As research within the field of media, communication and the prevention of conflict is new, with very little existing theory, it has been necessary to analyse and construct a number of sub-areas, with each deserving of its own research. I have summarized below, the findings which have been developed through the dissertation as the backdrop for establishing coherent strategies using media and communication in conflict transformation. Finally, I will discuss additional perspectives from the models and strategies I have developed in the conclusion. Are they applicable to other contexts? Can new and future actors be foreseen? What areas should be explored further, to strengthen international and multilateral efforts to prevent and transform conflicts?

## 8.2 Findings

My focus is on internal conflicts, which have posed new challenges to both international relations schools and strategies for peace-building since the end of the Cold War. While most conflicts today are rooted in unequal access to resources, structural inadequacies of societies, and are often triggered by leadership ambitions, the popular support behind the conflicting parties is typically rallied along ethnic, cultural and religious identity lines. This imbues the media with a particular responsibility.

From my analysis of the media's role during conflict escalation in Chapter 3, it is clear that media in countries with conflict has contributed to conflict escalation in many ways. First, they turned a *blind eye* to the inadequacies and injustices forming the root causes of conflict and later became increasingly one-sided and *biased* in their reporting during the process leading up to armed conflict. By spreading prejudices and stereotyping of the adversaries, the media actively contributed to building a state of *moral panic*.

My analysis showed how on one hand the political leadership *strengthened editorial control* to obtain the media's support for conflict; the closer a country was to open conflict. On the other hand, editors and journalists themselves often took sides as *patriots* in favour of their own identity groups. Those who tried to stay balanced and neutral were removed from prominent positions.

As the analysis also illustrates, there is no indication that state media contributes more to conflict escalation than private media. State media tends to function as a platform for struggles between different political views, each seeking to influence the editorial line

framing the stories which are reported. Private media, where they exist, are not subjected to the formal political decision processes as the former, but often operate as tools for specific political interests or seek to meet market demands for patriotism and consequently conflict escalating reporting.

Structurally, the *media landscape* -understood as the media's structure, legislative conditions and capacity- is the fundamental basis for the media's role during conflict escalation. However, as described above, the dynamics of conflict with increasing leadership control, patriotism and the bias of editors and journalists influence the level of escalating or de-escalating content.

Both the *structural and dynamic factors* determining whether the media contributes to a discourse of conflict escalation or de-escalation are factors, which international media support can influence. I have identified the possible *areas of media intervention as media structure, media legislation, ethical standards, journalists' capacity* and support to *content*.

As there are numerous choices to be made when deciding what direction support to the development of media structure and legislation should take, I have discussed and analysed the different types of media from criteria reflecting, what I believe is their potential for de-escalating content. A key term is *diversity*, which not only reflects variations in content and attitudes, but also implies that, from a normative perspective, the media in structure and content should reflect the diversities within a given society. It should ensure equal access for all minorities, serve as a forum for different interests and opinions and offer relevant choices of content and variety over time. Another important term is *impartiality*.

Impartiality in reporting values balanced reporting, showing a case from all sides, truth, critical stance and neutrality are in place both within the individual programme and in the general journalistic standards.

Based on the *de-escalating values* and the experience from media in conflicts, it is possible to systematize media into three groups, each with its own characteristics, strengths and weaknesses:

- Government, State and Public Service media
- Commercial, Political and Religious media
- Non-profit and Community media

All three groups include Net-media as one mode of communication and distribution of information. Most appropriate to direct support are if looked upon from impact, geographical coverage and potential de-escalating values the state media, which if supported must be supported in a development towards genuine public service media. Also professional media owned by non-profit foundations, public trusts etc. have a great potential for de-escalating values, offer alternative voices to the state media, and deserve efficient support. Commercial, political and religious media might be totally diverse, but only some individual commercial media represent diversity and impartiality. By definition, community media does not adhere to professional journalistic characteristics or de-escalating values as defined above. However, depending on their structure and policy, community media might prove to be valuable instruments for international peace-building and conflict transformation efforts.

The analysis of the media's role during conflict escalation indicated significant differences in *structural*, *legislative*, and *political*

*conditions* as well as in *editorial practices* of the media along the timeline of conflict. In most cases, violent conflicts in one country or region are recurring, with varying breaks in between. Optimally, international efforts should aim at preventing the recurrence of conflicts by removing the *structural root causes* through transformation of the society in which the conflicts take place. However, this is a long-term perspective. Moving towards sustainable peace starts from the assurance that upcoming violent outbreaks are prevented, that violence which has already taken place is stopped and that re-building of state structures and re-establishment of relationship between the fighting parties are established post-conflict. In other words, in addition to long term interventions, short and medium term measures must also be used to play into the *dynamics* of individual conflicts.

If we isolate one violent conflict to describe the dynamics for the media, it becomes clear that there are more variations than just the pre-, during and post-conflict phases. In Chapter 4 I have described how a conflict escalates from a *distant pre-conflict phase*, in which root causes could be targeted and in which there is no certainty that an outbreak of violence will take place in the future. In the *immediate pre-conflict phase*, the violent conflict is very obvious, almost unavoidable, and the control and bias of the media and journalists exceed all formal legislation, established practices and codes of conduct. Between the distant pre-conflict and the immediate pre-conflict is the *pre-conflict phase*, where it still is possible for international actors to influence the media in moving from a conflict-escalating to a conflict de-escalating role. In theory, it is still possible to prevent the violent conflict from taking place in this phase.

Similarly, it is possible to identify different post-conflict phases when a peace agreement has been established. There is an *immediate post-conflict phase*, during which much of the scope for media interventions is the establishment of emergency humanitarian information, but also where the first steps towards future media can be taken. Following the immediate post-conflict is a *post-conflict planning phase*, during which local and international actors aim to plan the future media structure, adjust existing media legislation, build the capacity of journalists and other actors, support institution-building and initiate the long process of reconciliation with the population. Following the post-conflict planning phase is what I call the *post-conflict peace-building phase*, during which the planned changes for the media and the process of reconciliation are implemented. Following this is the *Transformation of Society Phase*, during which the root causes finally must be removed and joint visions for the whole society are developed.

The *Distant Pre-Conflict* and *Transformation of Society Phases* are not marked by tense conflicts and in reality harbour the same potential for preventing recurring conflicts through a change of society. In both cases, the media must be encouraged not to turn a blind eye to inadequacies in society and on the contrary, should question and examine further options for change. The importance of targeting conflict prevention even several years after a violent conflict has been surfaced and illustrates the necessity for international actors to think long term, to prevent recurring conflicts.

I adapted a model developed by Maire Dugan for the mediation and transformation of social conflicts into a model for support to content to prevent recurring conflicts. I tested this model through a number

of focus groups interviews. The one TV programme, which was tested fit into the suggested model. This did not prove that all programmes which fit into one element of the model necessarily fit all other elements. However, the parallels with Dugan's model are so convincing that I believe that my model offers a feasible design of content support.

My model suggests goals and programme genres along a post-conflict timeline. In principle, print and Net media could also follow the same pattern as broadcast media. In *immediate post-conflict*, the *goal* is to discuss solutions to the immediate issue triggering the conflict. *Programme genres* could be news and current affairs as well as debate programmes. In the *post-conflict planning* and *peace-building phases*, the *goal* is to re-establish relationships and confidence between adversaries through the reduction of fear, stereotyping and prejudices. *Programme genres* could be magazines, documentaries, fiction, sport and entertainment.

The *peace-building* and *conflict transformation phases* aim at removing the root causes of conflict for those directly involved and point to potential changes at system levels. *Programme genres* could be magazines and factual documentaries. *The conflict transformation phase* further *aims* at a broader transformation of society, removing the root causes of future conflicts, and establishing a joint vision for society. *Programme genres* could be investigative, historic or thematic programmes as well as documentaries, news and debate programmes.

In my analysis of the international actors responsible for conflict prevention and peace-building, I have focused on the UN as the multilateral organisation formally mandated by all states to prevent

and remove threats to peace and strengthen universal peace. During the past years, the departments of the UN Secretariat have increasingly had media monitoring and information activities mentioned in UNSC mandates and peace agreements which the UN has been involved in. With the UN's emphasis on structural conflict prevention, there are good reasons to see media and communication strategies not only as part of peace-making and peace-keeping activities, but also as building blocks for structural conflict prevention and transformation. The sooner that long-term strategies are developed, the better chances are for the post-conflict transformation of the media into structures, which is based on the removal of root causes of conflict. However, the analysis also shows that the UN Secretariat has administrative limitations on its ability to deploy rapidly. The interventions carried out with a UNSC mandate allow the UN to put force behind its demands on the conflicting parties to a large degree, while at the same time hindering the mission's ability to work with other partners, apart from the formal leaders from the conflicting sides, to a large degree. Additional actors from the UN family, like UNDP and UNESCO, are better suited to work directly with civil society organisations, community, private and state media without an explicit consensus from government and leaders. They are capable of carrying out long-term interventions. In the work to transform media landscapes, the multilateral organisations, national and multilateral donors often use international media NGOs to implement their policies.

I have categorised international media NGOs, which represent a significant proportion of the international support given to media in conflict, into four categories:

- *Professional organisations* for journalists, broadcasters and print media which focus on the interests of and standards for their professional constituency.
- *Monitoring and advocacy organisations* focusing on human rights and freedom of speech, which work relatively independent from their donors and act as watchdogs rather than as partners with the governments in the target countries.
- *Media development organisations* aiming to promote democracy, conflict prevention or development through media policy advice, support to co-productions, institution and capacity-building seek to work independently but are often instrumental for the interests of national and international donors.
- *Media, educational institutions and development foundations* are based on values as freedom of expression, while their primary interest often is income generation and professional challenges for its internal staff.

Making use of the strengths of each of the potential actors, I conclude in my analysis on the UN's role that a coherent media and communication strategy should be developed and implemented in collaboration with the possible actors with a view to improve the ability to act rapidly and implement coherent long-term transformative approaches.

Such collaboration should take place at a general political and methodological level and in concrete conflict situations to achieve the optimal preventive and peace-building impact.

### **8.3 The Design of Media Interventions**

Nothing indicates that media interventions alone can prevent conflicts or establish sustainable peace. For that purpose, several other strategies and instruments have been developed over the past decades. However, everything indicates that the mass media, with its increasing influence as an agenda setter, has an important role in contributing to the success of other intervention areas. Therefore, media interventions have to be placed within the framework of other international efforts in operational and systemic conflict management.

When dealing with conflict management from a short-term perspective, I have anchored my belief on the positions made by several scholarly sources that the progress towards peace already starts from the initial steps during the immediate crisis. In other words, while crisis interventions have their own goals to achieve, short-term interventions are also setting the framework for medium- and long-term development.

I also believe that short-term interventions alone do not have much impact. The immediate goal of conflict settlement does not play into the overall perspective of resolving and preventing recurring conflict or achieving sustainable peace. Consequently, it is necessary for international operators involved in conflict management from the crisis intervention, to include strategies for long-term conflict transformation.

In this dissertation, it has been necessary to analyse several factors in order to suggest coherent strategies for using media and communication leading to long-term conflict transformation. The

same process is needed for international actors, be they multilateral organisations, donor governments or international NGOs. In order to design and plan media interventions, the international actors must analyse the conflict situation thoroughly, looking at it from conflict, media & communication, and social psychological perspectives.

The following **Integrated Model for Media Intervention Design** shows how the analysis deals within all three theoretical approaches with structural, individual and dynamic factors. Similarly, the design of a media intervention must contain structural long-term goals and immediate objectives with concrete activities:

## **Integrated Model for Media Intervention Design**

### **ANALYSIS**

#### **1. Conflict Theory**

##### a. Root causes

Economic/Social factors

Structural factors

Cultural/Identity factors

Political factors

##### b. Dynamic causes, conflict phase

Economic crisis,

Structural changes

Minority bashing

Political power struggles

Phase of Conflict

## **2. Media & Communication Theory**

### a. Media landscape

Structure, ownership, Distribution

Legislation

Capacity

### b. Editorial policy, Content

Conflict Escalating Content

Editorial Control,

Journalists' Identification

De-escalating potential – media by media

## **3. Social psychological theory**

### a. Identity and Social Communication

Ethnic, Social, Religious, Geographic identity groups

Private, public and social communication structures

Levels of Leadership

Civil Society actors

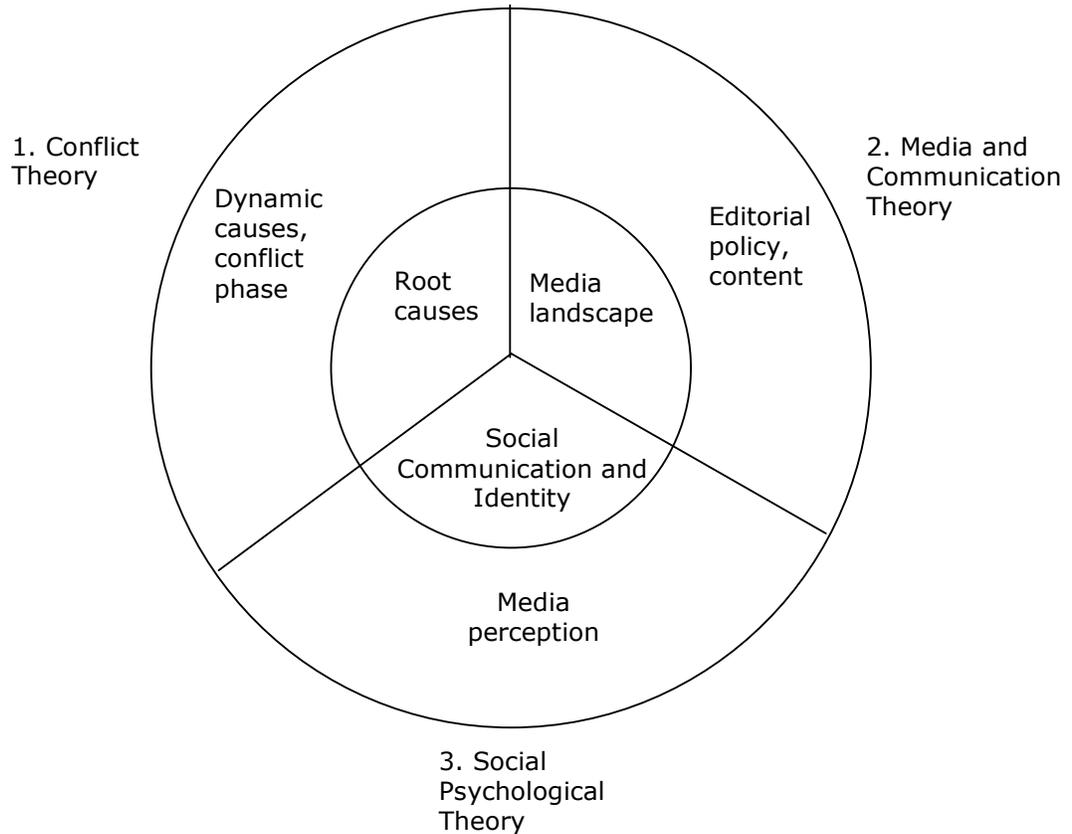
### b. Media Perception

Consumption of media, by identity groups

Trust in media, by identity groups

Perceived images of 'others' and mirrored images

Appropriation processes of media messages



**Figure 4: Integrated Model for Media Intervention Design - Analysis**

## **STRATEGY**

### **1. Conflict theory**

#### a. Intervention Phases

Conflict Prevention

Conflict Settlement

Peace Building

Conflict Transformation

b. Conflict Resolution Goals

Resolution of Conflict Issue

Re-establishing relationships

Reconciliation

Visions for future

## **2. Media & Communication Theory**

a. Intervention areas

Timeline

Media Structure

Media Legislation

Capacity Building

Institution Building

b. Support to Content

Choice of Media

Choice of Programme Genre

Content goal

Institutional and Ethical Approach

## **Social Psychological Theory**

a. Identity Groups and Media Structure

Media Diversity

Common Media Platforms

Diversity of Journalists

Capacity Building

Civil Society Actors

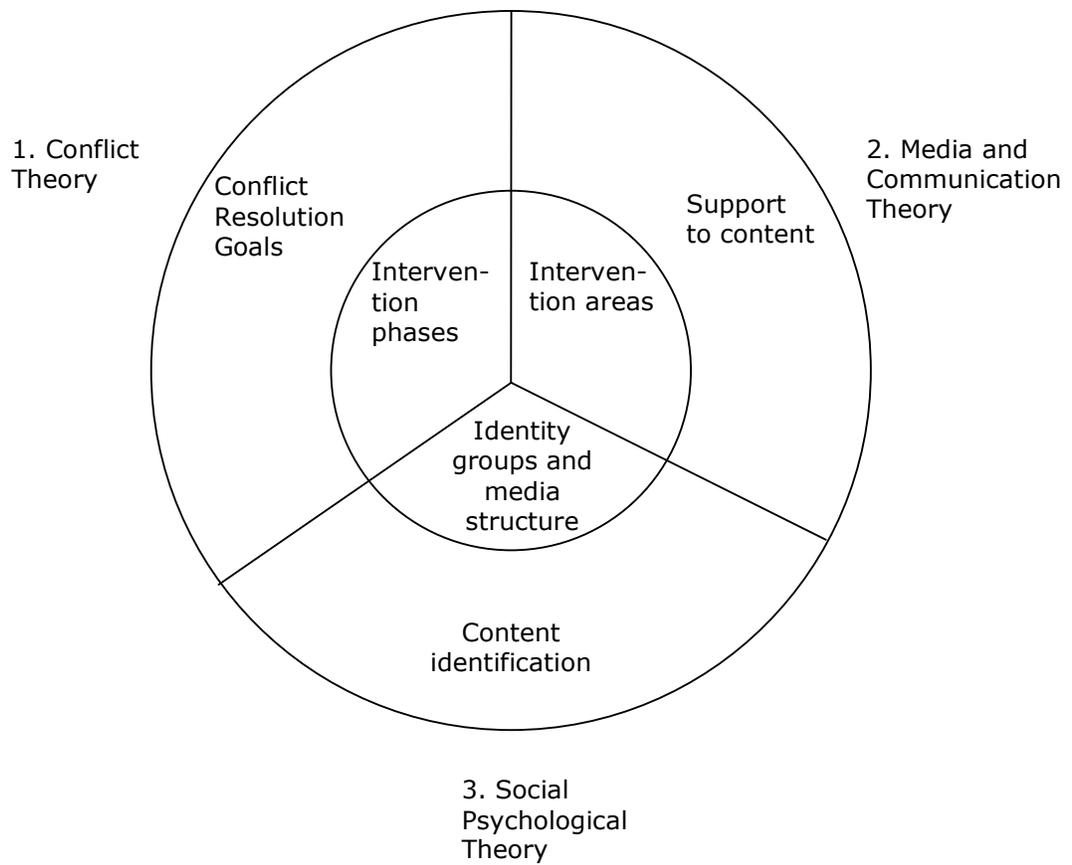
b. Content Identification

Conflict Issues and Solutions

Confidence-building

Dialogue and Reconciliation

Societal Problems and Visions



**Figure 5: Integrated Model for Media Intervention Design - Design**

## 8.4 Additional Perspectives

I have focused on media and communication strategies in internal conflicts, but it is also worth discussing if the findings and models developed for them are viable in the context of *international conflicts*.

From a conflict theory perspective, the dynamics and phases of conflicts are very much the same in the analysis of conflicts. So are the social psychological and media and communication factors, except that it is necessary to analyse these in two or more countries.

Most internal conflicts have strong regional repercussions. While this is a dimension which would benefit from in-depth analysis when dealing with internal conflicts, the regional and international aspects become even more important when analysing and providing answers to international conflicts. The inclusion of regional and international dimensions is relevant for general conflict management efforts, but are also needed when analysing media and communication strategies. The adversaries in internal conflicts have an interest in cultivating the favour of international media coverage for their side, because it might eventually lead to international political, economic or arms support outcomes. In international conflicts, the understanding of the media in the conflicting countries as well as of the international and global media is complex. The theoretical frameworks and tools developed in this dissertation however, would also be valid for international conflicts.

One interesting and highly relevant consideration is, whether it is relevant to use the approaches to media in internal conflicts in

countering *terrorism*; here understood as violent attacks intended to harm innocent civilians. While this is not a subject which I have researched, there is a variety of terrorist attacks motivated by everything from geographical and political ambitions to broader perceptions of cultures and identities. One example is the present wave of terrorist attacks committed by primarily Islamic suicide bombers. Numerous observers have suggested different explanations on what causes socially well-functioning young Muslims to become terrorists: One explanation is that the injustices related to issues of Western foreign policy, the social and political injustice in Muslim countries, the injustices against Muslim immigrants in the West, or inequalities between different countries, foment hatred among potential terrorists. Another explanation is that the simplified picture and perception of Western culture conveyed through the Internet and other media to the populations of Muslim countries, coupled with the simplified picture and perception of Muslim culture in Western countries feed groups of potential terrorists. On both sides, a discourse of war has developed as if it were a conflict waged on conventional targets.

If these explanations are correct, parts of the suggested media strategies for internal conflicts might also be adequate in fighting terrorism. In Western and Muslim countries, the media should actively discuss and question possible injustices in domestic and foreign policy issues. This debate should involve inputs from both sides, be they Muslim immigrants, Western political leaders or the population and leadership in Muslim countries. As well as media's capability to reach all concerned must be ensured. In employing media strategies, it is also essential to look at the environment fostering terrorists from a conflict dynamic perspective, that is, the role of the media during conflict escalation as stimulating prejudices,

stereotyping and moral panic. This can also be seen in the coverage of terrorism carried out by radical Islamists. The Western media might not scapegoat Islam and the majority of Muslims, but very little is done to convey an image of the normal or modern Islam, as practised by the large majority of immigrants in the West and inhabitants of the Muslim world. Similarly, images of the West, particularly the USA, in Arab media do not reflect the lives and values of ordinary citizens. In my view, there are good reasons to search for de-escalating methods when dealing with media and communication as a tool to reduce conflicts involving terrorism.

Through this dissertation, the red thread has been the focus on conflict and even more, the laying of the foundation for democracy and conflict transformation. Consequently, large parts of the theories and models developed are directly or easily adapted to models for international support to democracy development. Discussions on journalism, ethics in journalism, media structure and legislation are all valid when targeting issues such as *democracy, good governance, human rights or social development*.

The adapted model for post-conflict support to content also offers a relevant approach to articulate other societal changes – ranging from health, HIV/Aids, environment, gender, to social development. As I have explained in my model, there is a need for further tests and possible adjustments. From the conflict theory concepts of dynamic and structural approaches, as well as from prevention, resolution and transformation strategies, the parallels to awareness campaigns and communication strategies are apparent. Further theoretical elaboration and development of these concepts could lead to important inputs for communication for social change strategies.

I have dealt with the broadcast media as being conventionally organised in a flow programme structure. With increasing possibilities for the interactive use of programmes in traditional broadcast media, we can expect to see that the broadcast media's function as creators of national or group identities will be loosened. Such a development can imply serious adjustments of the theories and models I have used and will soon require further research.

One other aspect which is important to research more deeply is the involvement of *civil society organisations* at both global and local levels. Civil society advocacy organisations might lack legitimacy, but nonetheless are setting and imposing important international and national agendas. There is no given agenda – constructive or destructive to peace – and global agendas are seldom neutral to all contexts, but often formulated by one part of the world – geographically, politically or socially – and spread to all others. The risk is that terms such as peace, democracy, human rights or gender equality as absolutes are imposed on all societies regardless of societal conditions, or that other values, which might be seen as inappropriate to most of us, are spread efficiently. The value, however, is that when civil society organisations act globally, they can give a hitherto unseen prominence to important values.

An important tool for civil society organisations is the *Internet*, with all its new communication possibilities. As we have seen, the Internet can be used to foster important and efficient campaigns. However, as with conventional media, there is no guarantee that it will be used for peace-oriented or constructive purposes. There is a need to clarify the potentials and criteria for international support to the involvement of civil society and use of Net media in future strategies for peace and societal transformation.

While community media can give valuable input to conflict resolution and peace-building integrated with other reconciliation efforts, they do in some situations voice alternatives to the opinions of the political leadership and are often used by civil society organisations as their primary communication tool. In conflict situations, standards must be developed for the organisation, management and content in community and alternative media before international support can be given safely.

Equally important is the future development of interactive mainstream media and the impact of increased concentration of media – regionally or globally. This development offers new risks but also new possibilities to increase the impact of international support to peace-building, conflict prevention and transformation.

Most important, however is to ensure that multilateral organisations and donors systematically analyse and integrate media and communication strategies as part of their substantial support to prevent conflict and build peace. The development of coordinated analyses and implementation of such strategies should take place between the UN family, other multilateral organisations, national donors, researchers and international non-governmental organisations to ensure that media and communication have an optimal impact. I hope that this dissertation can be a modest contribution to such a process.

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